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rule, in reality, when one studies concrete cases, as much magic is inherited in the male as in the female line. For the inheritance of property, including magic, the rule is not rigid and family sentiments frequently override clan rules.

Moreover, despite the cross-secting lines of the clan, the family has a decidedly unified life. It is the husband who clears the bush ground for cultivation, while his wife plants taro. It is he who fishes and brings the larger part of the catch to his wife. She prepares the taro for the evening meal, which they and the children enjoy together, apart from the rest of the hamlet. The mother nurses her infant, and her husband quite frequently takes care of him while she is busy in the garden, or with her cooking. By co-operation in the infinite number of details which comprise family life, the unity of the family is maintained. Finally, a man and his wife have a close affectionate and sexual life, although extra-marital intercourse is rather usual. Even wife-beating, which may cause a temporary rift, serves at the same time to assert the unity of the family; a man never beats his mistress.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP SYSTEM

The kinship groups of moiety, clan, and family having been briefly sketched, it remains to describe in more detail the classificatory system of kinship. The distinctive element of any such system is that a single relationship term is applied to a large group of people and not just to one or a few individuals. The division of the society into two totemic, exogamous moieties has been noted, and the range of kinship terminology is the moiety, all the members of which are considered to be related. If, first, the principles of the system within the immediate family are grasped, it is easy to follow the more complicated extensions. The accompanying diagram of a genealogy helps to illustrate the points.

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intercourse. "At first," said Tomerare, "she cried, but after that she liked it, and now there is no more shame between us." Now it is said, "*Lulisi e maisi sa*," "the two are truly married." There is no feast or rite to mark the actual consummation of the marriage, for this is a private matter with which society is not concerned.

It has already been mentioned that, should the girl have just reached puberty, six or eight moons, or even more, may elapse before the marriage is consummated. It is unthinkable that a girl should have sexual relations with anyone else during this period. Her husband should be the first. But it is admitted that the "unthinkable" occurs occasionally. In that case the "other man" makes a payment of *tsera* to the wife, which she in turn gives to her husband. But this, as we shall see, is the usual pattern of behaviour for all extra-marital intercourse.[1]

During the consummation of their marriage and immediately following it they may spend the first few nights in the wife's mother's house, if the husband has no house ready. The parents leave the house and go to some other. As soon as the husband has built a new house he and his wife live in it. A new household has been added to the village, and the husband and wife take their places as part of the adult community.

SALIENT ASPECTS OF RITES

Significant aspects of the rites which mark the girl's entrance into adult society may be mentioned here. First, there is the role taken by the moieties in the exchange of food and in the playful fighting between the women. This playful fighting which occurs between the women of opposite moieties at the wedding rites, and also at pregnancy and birth rites (all concerned with some phase

[1] If the woman is a widow, or has passed puberty a year or more, there is no interval between rite and consummation.

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465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
535 were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
437 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration. The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensa-
767 tion is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had
616 been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
437 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

437 Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
837 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband. This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
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595 to-day it is the more usual type, although most of the adult, middle-aged men of Lesu had had two wives, and later, because of white influence, gave up one. There are, however, still about six households in the village where the marriage is polygamous.

837 While white contact may have influenced the form of marriage, it has had relatively very little influence on extra-marital intercourse. This continues much the same as it did in the past. Each man has his *affaires de cœur* outside of marriage, and his wife has hers at the same time. This is a social custom with all the force of tradition.

586 Divorce is also an important element in the marriage structure. It occurs fairly frequently, and either party may secure it. The marriage payment is always returned to the husband, and the children go with the mother, no matter who initiates the divorce. The reasons for a divorce, its frequency, and the social attitude toward it, will be examined in another section of the chapter. At this point we are interested only in the general configuration.

595 It is into this social structure of formerly polygamous marriages, which within the last few years have become in general monogamous (but with a certain number of polygamous unions still in existence), occasional polyandrous marriages, occasional divorce and much extra-marital intercourse on both sides, that the sexual life of these men and women is set.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOVE

832 To know what is meant in Lesu by falling in love, it is necessary to understand what the individual considers attractive in the opposite sex, how the man woos his mate, how she responds, and what are the details of their life together. These are to a large degree socially determined, i.e. there is a general unanimity on what is considered a beautiful woman, and there is a more or less standardized

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842 been seen, when a child is born nothing could exceed the affectionate care bestowed on an infant by his mother and the whole family. There are thus the two contradictory sentiments, desire for and rejection of motherhood existing side by side in the same society.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 Sexual life is not confined to marriage, and supplementary to it is the extra-marital intercourse. It is the socially accepted custom for a wife and a husband to have intercourse with a number of additional people, and either one, if young, would be considered abnormal if he or she did not have it. A young married woman without lovers would be in the same social position as a young girl in our society who never has any beaux or is never invited to parties.

Middle-aged women discussed their past affairs with me quite freely, and most of them had had so many lovers that they could not remember the exact number. One old woman, now a frightful-looking hag with a cataract over one eye, asked me rather indignantly if I expected her to remember every man with whom she had ever slept. Permanent intrigues with one man do not seem to be common, for, if such were the case, the woman would divorce her husband and marry her lover.

The woman and her lover usually have their intercourse in the bush, and the name for the lover is *malis lotin*, literally, husband bush. Sometimes if the husband is away, or sleeping in the men's house, they may have it in the woman's house.

837 431 Each time a man copulates with a woman other than his wife he gives her one string of *tsera*, which she in turn gives to her husband later. This *tsera* is not a payment any more than the marriage price is a payment for the bride. It is simply part of the traditional code of reciprocity whereby nothing is ever given for nothing. To-day, at the northern

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end of the island, near the white man's capital, where the natives have become more sophisticated, some girls go bush with their lovers and receive only a stick of tobacco in return. News of this has trickled down to Lesu, and the old women there speak scornfully of this new custom and of the cheapening of the girls thereby.[1] Yet husbands are not completely oblivious of the economic significance of their wives' *affaires de cœur*. On one occasion, in the not very distant past, many of the Lesu men went to Tabar, and during their absence the wives had intercourse freely with other men. The women thus collected much *tsera* and gave it to the men when they returned home. The husbands, I am told, were much pleased. One woman told me that her husband himself brought the first lover to her because he wanted the *tsera*, and she did not object. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule. Moreover, the husband in this case, now an old man, is by no means an avaricious or greedy man. Several times he brought me bananas and pawpaws, and refused payment for them, saying they were a gift in return for some tobacco I had previously given him.

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says "no," giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter.

Although these women are aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, they all told me very emphatically that all their children are their husbands'; for, continue the women, after they have had intercourse with their lover they have it the next day with their husband, and this makes all of the children his. Each woman earnestly

[1] In no way can the extra-marital intercourse for payment be considered similar to the prostitution of our civilization. In New Ireland a woman who did not receive the *tsera* from her lover would have lowered herself and be completely without prestige or position in the community.

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reasons for which is reflected in the myth of the Warawara *malanggan*.

This myth tells the tale of how some *malanggans* were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no *tsera* and no pig. His mother has no husband from whom he can get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new *malanggan*, so she makes the Warawara *malanggan*. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, as in the case of Landa's children, the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary *tsera*. In the myth it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children.

FAMILY SENTIMENTS

We have seen, in general, how sexual life outside of marriage fits into the social scheme, and how it may have a certain economic significance in the family life. There remains still the question of whether it has any deeper emotional and personal significance in the life of the family. What is the attitude of the husband towards his wife's lovers? Although we find one social attitude, there is no one inflexible attitude for all husbands. In accordance with the difference in the temperament of the individuals, we find husbands taking varied attitudes toward the lovers of their wives. Some men are jealous, and some are not. Some men gladly accept the *tsera* from their wives, who have received it from their lovers,

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593 and there is no rift in the family. However, others, who are
837 the exceptions rather than the rule, instead of taking the *tsera* fight the wife's lover. There is the same difference in the woman's attitude toward her husband's mistresses. Usually she acquiesces and there is no fuss. But an occasional woman fights another one who has been her husband's mistress. There are even different attitudes in the same individual. One woman told me that sometimes her husband is cross if she has a lover, and at other times he does not mind. The latter is his more usual attitude. If he is aware of the lover and is cross, the lover pays the *tsera* directly to him; at other times the lover gives it to the woman.

593 Jealousy thus exists, even though extra-marital relation-
837 ships are sanctioned by social custom. I witnessed several
578 jealous fights. One was between two women. Tungat, the husband of Kalumat, had for some time been having sexual relations with Matsuk, a middle-aged widow, who lives in the neighbouring village of Ambwa. She was pregnant, and said that Tungat was the father of her child. Kalumat heard of it and said she was going to Ambwa and fight Matsuk. She went, accompanied by five other Lesu women, but on arriving at the village the fight turned out to be merely a vocal one, and Kalumat announced that she was through with her husband, and would give him up to Matsuk, from whom she demanded *tsera*. There was a sharp exchange of words between the two women, but nothing really happened other than that, and Kalumat continued to live with her husband.

593 Another quarrel was between my own two servants.
578 Kuserek was jealous because her husband Sinbanimous
158 lingers on the beach near the place where all the women are filling up the bamboo stems with water. When he returned she flew into a temper and nagged him to such an extent that he was forced to beat her in order to make her keep quiet. Another time it appeared that he was jealous on her

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bring taro back to the house while the men remain working in the gardens. The two women go to the men's house and find the sea-maiden hiding under the branch of a tree which the men had placed on top of her. The wives fight the sea-maiden, then go out, fasten the door, and set fire to the house. The sea-maiden is burned to death. The two men in the gardens smell the fire, and returning, find the men's house burned down. They ask their wives why they set fire to the house, and the women answer: "Ah, we know everything. Why have you hidden this woman from us?" Now the men really like their wives, but they pick up knives and kill them. Then a big mortuary feast is made.[1]

There are many other folk-tales in which men have mistresses and wives lovers, but in which there is no jealousy.

At Lesu social custom and attitude sanctions extra-marital intercourse, and accepts it as correct to such an extent that anyone not indulging in it would be considered abnormal and most unusual. This social attitude is a more

[1] Another tale concerns a woman with two husbands, one of whom is jealous. The woman shows a decided preference for one husband who has a lighter skin, to whom she gives the best food. She tells the darker-skinned one to go and eat with the pigs, and later further insults him by telling him to copulate with the pigs.

That night the two men plan to go fishing. The spurned husband lies and says that he is ill and cannot go out fishing, so the preferred mate starts out alone. The dark-skinned man then goes to the woman's house and, pretending that he is the other man, tells the woman to open the door. She does so, and is cross when she discovers who it really is that she has let into the house.

When the preferred mate returns from fishing and finds the other man in the house he is very angry and jealous and kills both him and the woman. Then the mortuary feast is made.

There is a similar tale of how the two wives of one man are jealous of a woman who has been formed out of the man's blood and who stands in the relationship of maternal niece to him. The wives insult her by telling her to eat the faeces of a pig, and the man then kills the wives in revenge. These tales are but a few in which jealousy figures as the leading, or at least one of the leading motifs.

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837 or less uniform one, to which all the individuals agree, but their personal reactions to it, when it touches them directly, vary. Thus, although the general rule was a lack of jealousy, there were enough exceptions to show once again that these Melanesians differ from each other in much the same way that individuals in our society differ. In New Ireland there is no one rigid emotional attitude followed by everyone, and instead of a simple logical pattern we find a rather complex and sometimes illogical one.[1]

593 Here, as elsewhere, much more exists in the relationship between a man and wife than their sexual life. The daily routine of their life in common has already been described in detail, so that only a brief recapitulation from this point of view is necessary. Together they share the work of taking care of the young children. Their economic labours are nicely divided. The man clears the ground and the woman plants. The man brings the wood for the fire and the woman prepares the taro to be baked. The man fishes and hunts, while the woman tends to the house, feeds the pigs, and fills up the bamboo stems with water. Although the husband and wife of necessity belong to different clans and moieties, to which each one is bound by many ties, economic and otherwise, yet their daily life in common, the sharing of the same responsibilities, their mutual affection for their children, their obedience to the same taboo during the infancy of the children, and all the little incidental ties that make up family life, develop as a rule strong sentiments of affection between the two. It is these which differentiate (among other factors) the relationship between a man and wife and a man and his temporary mistress. The latter relationship is usually merely a sexual and biological one. A woman and her lover

[1] The problem of the psychological basis of the jealousy can only be posed for further investigation at this point. That is, is the jealousy due to intense love and a resulting desire for complete and sole possession, or is it due to the feeling of inadequacy on the part of the jealous person? The same problem is still to be answered in our own society.

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159 usual early childhood. While she was still very young, Limboisa, who was married to her sister Leipa, wanted to be betrothed to her, but he was not accepted.[1] Her parents died in her childhood, and she went to live with her maternal uncle in the bush village of Ponanwiukok. She came back to Penguli, however, before she reached puberty, and then Towi asked to be betrothed to her. He talked to all her clan relatives, and they gave their consent. Then Nunda went to the hamlet of Panat and lived with Towi's mother, Toras. Shortly after this her first menses appeared, and there were the usual rites, followed by the marriage ritual.

159 837 Then her married and sex life with her husband began. Shortly after her marriage she began to go to the bush with her lovers. About once a month was the average. I could not find out the exact frequency of her relationship with her husband, but it was evidently according to desire. Two of her children, she told me, were the children of two lovers, and she knew this because of the resemblance between them and the children. Towi knew it also, but was not cross. She added that he liked the *tsera* which he had received from all her lovers. He later took another wife, known as wife number two. She died some time ago and had no children.

159 888 Nunda never ate either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had four children, only one of whom is now living. To-day she and her husband live in Panat (her husband's hamlet), where her daughter, who is married and has two children, also lives. Towi is too old to clear ground for a garden, and so they do not have one. But Nunda can still plant taro, although not quite so vigorously as the younger women. She assists her own daughter, Kokala, and her husband's brother's daughter, Pulong (of her clan), in their gardens, and these two women and their husbands look after the old couple. Should anything happen to Kokala and Pulong, their children would look after Nunda and Towi.

[1] Why, I was unable to find out.

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159 paid Landow five *tsera* and gave six *tsera* and a pig to his
587 wife's mother. This marriage lasted until Murrow died, an old man. Tsangamor said that she did not have any lovers after her second marriage. She explained that when she
159 married Landow, she was very young and went to the bush often, but later when she married Murrow she was much older, and, she added, she liked Murrow. At the latter's death Tsangamor was fairly old and did not remarry, nor did she have any lovers. She now lives in Panat with her sister's daughter. She has never had any children, and she attributes her sterility to the leaves she ate when a child.

To-day she is a tall, straight, very fine-looking old woman, with regular features and bright, intelligent eyes. She is still a good worker, and full of energy, fun, and gaiety. She is an active participant at all the women's gatherings, communal cooking, dancing, etc.

Murra was born in the hamlet of Sapone and had the normal childhood, working in her parents' garden, etc. In early childhood she was betrothed to Teramae, and the marriage rites were held after the first menses rites. Teramae paid six *tsera* to her maternal uncle.

159 Her husband was the first man with whom she had
837 sexual relations, but after marriage she had many lovers. During the day she went to the bush with them, but sometimes at night it was in her house, while her husband slept in the men's house or was out on an affair of his own. There was no regular periodicity for intercourse, but it was approximately a couple of times a week. She had no intercourse when pregnant, nursing her child, or when menstruating. She has four children, all boys.

159 Teramae died in middle age from a sickness connected
587 with his leg, and now Murra married Luasaw. She had no sexual relations with him previously. He had been away working on a plantation, and when he returned after

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Teramae's death Murra told him that she would like to have him marry her and look after the children. At first Luasaw did not want to marry her, because she was so much older than he. But all his relatives urged him on, saying that Nunda would give him plenty of pigs, which she did. Then he paid four *tsera* to her brother and they were married. After four or five years Luasaw died, also of an illness in the leg. There were no children by this marriage.

She did not remarry, and now lives quite happily, to all appearances, with Mamus, her sister's daughter's daughter, who is a classificatory granddaughter. Murra is still able to work in the garden, and is an active member of the community.

Molung is a young woman, probably in the late twenties. She was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the usual childhood. At her first menses there were the traditional rites, after which came her marriage to Manaumat, who paid five *tsera* to the following clan relatives: her mother, her mother's mother's sister's two sons, her brother, and her sister. Her father as usual received nothing. Her husband came from the hamlet of Sapone, and after the marriage they both lived in her hamlet of Penguli, where he built a house.

She had no sexual intercourse before marriage, and after it she had many lovers. She remembers six lovers well, and others whom she cannot recall. She has intercourse with her husband a couple of times a week. She did not eat either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had six children, two of whom died in infancy. One is married, and the other three are still young and living at home. They are all betrothed. Molung seems to be living a quiet, untroubled life.

In Kawitti's life there was more contact with white culture. She was born in the hamlet of Tarengam, and her father died when she was an infant and her mother when she was

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159 a very young child. She then went to live with a grown-up brother and his wife.

159 836 At the appearance of her first menses there were the customary rites, but she did not follow the usual rule of marrying directly afterwards. Instead she went to the bush with a lover, who gave her one *tsera*. Then she had another lover, with whom she went to the bush three times. Her third lover was Lumis, with whom she went to the bush four times and then married. She was pregnant before she married him, and later her child was born. A few years after this she and her husband went to Rabaul to work for the white man, and there Lumis died.

159 837 Kawitti stayed on at Rabaul, working for the white man, and during this time she had intercourse with many native men and one white man.[1]

After three or four years she came back to Lesu and had Lungas as her lover. They were married, and he gave the marriage payment to her clan relatives.

159 Kawitti said that she did not eat the sterility or abortive leaves because she was afraid. She had heard of one woman who died after eating the sterility leaves. She occasionally missed her menstrual period for two "moons," but it always "came up" on the third moon. She has had one child, a son, now married. She says that in the past she enjoyed copulating very much, but that now she is old and does not care for it.

She was still able to work in the garden, and did so, although suffering from a disease giving her leg pains, which diminished her activity at certain times. She was of a rather pleasant and very talkative disposition. She died unexpectedly while I was at Lesu.

Pulong had the traditional childhood, during which her

[1] When I asked her if she enjoyed her sexual relationship with the white man, her only answer was that he paid her "plenty."

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present husband, Ongas, was betrothed to her. He brought a gift of food to her mother and other clan relatives, who then gave their consent to the betrothal. Pulong a little later went to stay with her betrothed's mother. Ongas, of course, slept in the men's house.

At her first menses there were the customary rites, followed by the marriage rites and payment. He came to live in her hamlet, where he built a house for them.

After marriage she had many lovers in the bush, so many that she has lost count of them. There were no intrigues lasting any length of time. Her lovers all paid *tsera* to her, which she gave to Ongas. Sometimes he was cross if she had a lover, but at other times he was complacent. The latter state of mind was the more usual for him.

Ongas took a second wife, but later divorced her because he was afraid of the missions.

Pulong and he worked on the mainland of New Guinea (during the German administration). When their working time was up they returned to Lesu, and now say that they will never leave it. Pulong has one daughter now just past puberty. She has had several other children, all of whom died at birth or shortly afterwards.

To-day she and Ongas live an affectionate and what appears to be a quietly happy life.[1] She is busy and gay, fond of gossip, and a leader in communal undertakings. One might speak of her as one of the "first ladies" of the village. This comes partly from her husband's position of Luluai, but also from her own very pleasant personality.

The life history of Taiti, one of my servants who was with me in the beginning of my visit, is an unusually sophisticated one, due to her contact with white people since her early childhood. Her parents worked on a plantation, where she

[1] The affectionate care given by Ongas during Pulong's illness has already been described.

159 was born. They both died in her early childhood, and she continued living on the plantation, very much the protégée of her "master" and "mistress," owners of the plantation. She slept in their house, and her "mistress" locked the door to Taiti's room every night, so that no men could have access to her. Taiti was carefully guarded according to white standards, and for a time, therefore, had nothing to do with men. Then one man working on the plantation made love magic to get her. He recited a spell over an aromatic leaf, [832] which he then wore, and the wind blew the fragrance of the plant to Taiti, and then she was in love with him. Taiti told her "mistress" that she wanted this man, and so the two were married and continued working on the plantation.

159 This marriage only lasted a short time. There was a 845 divorce and she remarried. She became pregnant now, and near the end of her pregnancy another man wanted to have intercourse with her. She refused because she was pregnant, and he was angry at the refusal. The would-be [154] lover made magic of revenge over a betel-nut which he placed by her door. Unsuspectingly she walked over the nut, and as a result, she says, the child died in her womb. (The child was born dead two days later.)

159 Taiti later became friendly with a half-caste Chinese-Melanesian in Rabaul, who seduced her with love magic. ● 837 This consisted of putting a leaf over which he had said a [832] spell in a glass of beer which he gave her to drink. It was her first taste of beer, and that night she dreamt she was having intercourse with him, and the next day she desired him. Before he had made advances to her, but she had always rejected him. Now she went to him.

From now on she had many husbands and even more lovers, but she had a special fondness for the Chinese half-caste.

159 She is now middle-aged, and says that she is through with men. But this is obviously just "talk." She is very vain,

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Nimugu.—Father's sister; daughter of mother's brother's daughter. 601

Nenang.—Son's wife; husband's mother; husband's father.

Navàru.—Mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

Tangamuia.—Sister's daughter's daughter; mother's mother's brother.

In the pedigree it was noticed that the name of the mother's brother's wife was avoided and also the wife's mother. Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is definitely prohibited, but marriage with the wife's sister or the brother's widow is allowed. There are probably other regulations in regard to marriage that I have not recorded. Before the mission became established, definite sex relations were permitted between the men and women of small groups, who were described as being "friends" of one another. [551] 582 837

The next pedigree was recorded at Kenobin, a few miles below Konnos. These also are village people. The terms of relationship used are as follow:— 601

Tumang.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; mother's sister; father's brother's wife.

Ungu Zigik.—Son; sister's daughter's husband; the husband of the husband's father's brother's daughter.

Guinek.—Daughter; the daughter of the husband's father's sister's daughter.

Inazong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son; sister's son's wife; husband's mother's brother.

Tata or Nambangit.—Mother's brother; mother's father's brother's son (woman speaking).

Noiang.—Sister's son; sister's daughter; son of father's sister's son; daughter of father's brother's daughter; son of father's brother's daughter.

Pawugu.—Father's sister's son.

Guwaru.—Father's sister's daughter; wife's mother; daughter's husband (woman speaking).

Namugu.—Husband of father's sister's daughter; wife's father; daughter's husband.

Ninugu.—Wife of father's sister's son; sister; husband's sister's husband; sister's daughter's daughter.

Amuia.—Mother's mother's brother (woman speaking).

Tagik or Gurumasik.—Sister's husband; wife's brother.

Gurumasik.—Husband; husband of father's brother's daughter.

Guru Rumbu.—Wife.

Tang.—Father's brother's son; father's brother's son's wife.

Nangenz.—Husband's sister; brother's wife (woman speaking).

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

551 During the taking of this pedigree the sister's name and her presence
593 were strongly avoided. Other terms avoided were the father's sister's daughter, father's sister's son's wife, the mother's brother's wife, the wife's mother, and a woman avoids her brother and his name; the wife's brother and the wife's father do not appear to be avoided.

837 In this village it was said that small groups of men and women
572 were friendly to one another even to the extent of exchanging wives. This is now dying out with the coming of mission influence. The last group of the kind consisted of the following men and their wives:—Langiaun (male), Sagarin (female); Lile (male), Lubun (female); Marangas (male), Kesiga (female); Eangulin (male), Narong (female). Each man had access to each woman, and the groups lived happily together. Marangas then went to work on the gold-fields leaving Kesiga with his group friend Eangulin. After a short time, Eangulin found he liked Kesiga better than his wife, Narong, so he gave Narong to the Luluai of the village, Lega—who did not belong to the group at all—and stole Kesiga. Narong afterwards died. When Marangas returned from the gold-fields, and found that Eangulin had stolen Kesiga and did not want to give her up, he was very angry, and withdrew from the group altogether, marrying another woman.
582 The group then broke up. It was stated in the village that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is allowed, but that marriage with the daughter of the father's sister's daughter is prohibited. There was one instance of marriage with the deceased wife's sister. I omitted an inquiry as to marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter.

601 The next pedigree was taken at Pinigindu, and the following relationship terms were recorded:—

Tamak.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister.

Emanda Karak.—Son.

Nimugu.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Nak.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; husband of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Tata.—Mother's brother.

Noiak.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Nasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Koko.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); daughter of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Masikogup.—Father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's son.

Wepaguna or *Kogup.*—Mother's brother's son.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

A large number of the apparently sterile women are very old. The usual reply to a question concerning the lack of children is that the bearing of children is a burden which interferes with the efficiency of women in garden and road work, or the oft repeated, "laze along push push", one suggesting deliberate abortion, and the other lack of desire.

APATHY.

We are dealing with a people who have been profoundly upset by the coming of European settlement, which during the first few years rudely interrupted local conditions of life, and practically withdrew the majority of able-bodied males and many females of reproductive age from the villages, and continued to drain the population of its best blood year after year. The old German methods of uniting the stocks meant, in effect, that bush people and coastal people were deprived of their racial and social individuality, and compelled to live more or less on one another's ground, thus perforce losing the very characteristics that make for group stability. By the land alienation that took place during these years, natives found themselves being gradually pushed into corners here and there by the ever-expanding European settlement. The road work and other uses to which the relatively few remaining able-bodied men were put left small time for gardening and other native occupations. On top of these disturbing influences came the Mission with its new cultures. Pressure was brought to bear on all practices having the slightest resemblance to European standards of immorality. The natives who led an active sexual life with more or less promiscuity, in which they were constantly stimulated by various dances that gave incentive to and opportunity for sexual expression, now heard that their most natural and spontaneous activities were things of which to be ashamed, unless regulated in accordance with the standards taught by the Mission. As a prominent headman said to me, "the romance, excitement, and adventure of sex have gone. Always the native teachers speak of it in church and school as a thing of shame. Before, men and women gratified their desires when and where they found them. Now, to go into the bush with your lover is to be publicly shamed. The Missions say to the people who are married, 'You must have more children', but how can there be children without sex life, and how can there be sex life without sex play. Our night dances are practically forbidden, romance and adventure now appear to be sins, and the boys and girls are ashamed, and have no desire ('laze along, push push')."

There is no doubt that in olden days the native ceremonial and social life stimulated considerable sexual freedom. In many places women were permitted to have lovers who were to a certain extent recognized socially, and who contributed payments to the husband.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

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[837] During the excitement of the night dances, *bol*, and in ordinary times, people simply went into the bush and indulged themselves whenever desire came and opportunity offered, and, if complications occurred, no one seemed to worry very much about them. Children were absorbed [848] into the social group of the mother, and apparently children without social fathers suffered little on that account. Now, however, all is changed, and the people are struggling to adapt their natural instincts to the modified sexual activity that has been laid down for them. There appears, however, to be little doubt that more or less adaptation may be achieved within the next generation.

It is evident, therefore, that in the clash between European and native culture, with the dominance of the European, the natives have suffered from a certain degree of apathy. First, the establishment of Government control and subjugation of hostile tribes, which left them without the very conditions that, paradoxically enough, gave them the incentive to survive. Next, the introduction of commercial enterprise, which led to the gradual alienation of the most fertile land and squeezed the inhabitants into odd corners, cut off from one another in places by the thrusts of European settlement, and which led to the taking away of virile males and females in numbers damaging to the population. Next, the road work and other Government enterprises that took the relatively few able-bodied men left in the villages away from their gardens and other native work, and undoubtedly upset still further the already bewildered inhabitants. Then, the administrative experiments endeavouring by force to blend socially and physically people differing in language and culture who but a short time before had been bitterly fighting one another. One needs little imagination to appreciate the sufferings of a small group of bush people compelled to build villages among their coastal enemies and live in them away from their own environment, conditions, traditional stimuli and other forces on which their very vitality depends, to live moreover practically on the bounty of their coastal enemies, who would resent the intrusion as much as the intruders. Out of such conditions there must have arisen innumerable and continuous anti-social practices on the part of both peoples to resist the objective of the German Government, and, realizing the constant state of fear and anxiety in which such groups would live, one wonders there are any survivors at all: then—on top of this—the missions attempting to transform the little that is left!

Such, briefly, and perhaps harshly, are the processes that have been operating actively in this district for the past 40 years. It is too early yet for any definite good to have come out of the changes and teaching, and it is doubtful whether permanent results will be achieved while the males and females of the original generation are still alive, as their presence and their influence will ever form a resisting barrier to the

4: Powdermaker 5-6 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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census are compared whenever possible to the results of this genealogical study of a smaller unit of the same people, for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the latter study.

ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS

Before presenting the tables it is pertinent to give a few ethnological facts related to the statistics. This group of Melanesians are an agricultural, matrilineal and matrilocal people, with exogamous moieties subdivided into clans. There is no scarcity of land, which is communally owned, and getting sufficient food is not difficult, although it requires a certain amount of industry. The diet is limited, taro being the staple food. This is supplemented by fish, pigs, yams, bananas, pawpaws, coconuts, etc.

Sexual customs have an important bearing on the statistics. A girl is usually married directly after her first menstruation. A man's preferred mate is the mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and he is thus of a generation above his wife. While the preferred marriage quite frequently does not take place, the husband is almost always older than his wife, usually a difference of about five to ten years. The girl has had no sexual intercourse, although she has indulged in sexual play, but the man, being some years past puberty, has had sexual experience previous to the time of his marriage. There are no unmarried women. There may be a couple of young widows in the community, but it is just a question of time before they remarry. Both husband and wife have extra-marital intercourse and there is no social stigma in having lovers or mistresses. Rather, it is the correct thing to do. The husband of the mother is always the sociological father of her children. Until very recently it was quite usual for a man to have two wives and this had been the case with most of the married men of my community. It was relatively rare for a woman to have two husbands, although it did and still does happen occasionally. Missions have taught a monogamous system of marriage, with partial success. Polygamy still exists, but not to the same degree or extent as it did a generation ago. White contact has scarcely affected extra-marital intercourse. Should the village be close to a mission center (mine was not) love affairs would simply be carried on more surreptitiously,